/162 cont./

241 of which I was still able to obtain (Fig. 2, K /see p. 150/). Today
[312] they use long-handled hoes (astuna, takisa) of European make.
[177] The seeds are sown from meter to meter in holes they make with this instrument. The natives do not seem to show any attention to sowing in a straight line, and the holes when seen from a certain height give the appearance of wavy and capricious lines.

These fields are not irrigated but could obviously be without much work, given the uniformity of the plain. Some Čipaya with
[178] an enterprising spirit have recognized the possibility of this improvement, and this question is at present the object of discussion among the groups of land cultivators. The quinua which grows in these fields is stunted and bears few seeds. The harvest is frequent-
[132] ly of no account as a consequence of excessive droughts or frosts. I noticed some faint attempts at cultivating barley (1) in the shelter of several broken down enclosures.

222

1. The Čipaya while traveling dig up a tubercule (siča) which they say is the root of the tola, and they appear to be very fond of it. As far as I am concerned I found it tasted sour and insipid. Another wild tubercule (sawkx-pera) was pointed out to me as being edible also.

000 of several broken down enclosures.

234 Trade. The Čipaya make cheeses, which constitute their
433 chief industry and the source of their wealth, out of sheep's milk.
439 They trade it for everything they need to live and which nature denies them: maize, quinua, barley, broad beans, potatoes, dried
439 fish, coca, and alcohol. These products are brought to them by Aymara traders or mestizos, who generally come from the region
[433] of the Salinas, from Garcimendoza. The Čipaya economy hence rests in large part on trade. They themselves sometimes go to the

Carangas-
Chipaya

/166 cont./

252 Too many authors have spoken of the preparation of these potatoes exposed to frost and dried for it to be necessary for me to linger on
[439] it. This effort would be all the more superfluous since the čuño which the Čipaya consume is bought from the Aymara. Several times I saw the Čipaya make a paste of čuño by crushing them in
[412] their mortar. The latter is a flat stone (t^{w}ax), slightly sloping, on which the grinding is done with the help of another flat stone (muruku) which goes and comes (Fig. 2, G /see p. 150/).

Meat is always boiled, probably because of the fuel, which burns without a flame or gives off, in the case of tola, an acrid smoke.

264 The food is served in bowls (čua) (Fig. 3, D /see p. 155/);
[412] liquids are taken with a spoon (wisl'a) (Fig. 2, B) and solids with the hand. At feasts the host spreads out the dishes he is offering to his guests on a blanket, and the latter take them in a flap of their clothes.

273 Preparation of chicha from quinua. After being husked, quinua seeds are roasted again. They are then reduced to flour, from which a bowlful is taken out and conscientiously chewed by a woman. The portion soaked with saliva is mixed with the rest of the flour which has been spread on a skin. The whole is boiled and then poured into a large vat to which more hot water is added. The liquid is left to ferment for four days. The drink (k^{z}esi) thus obtained resembles muddy water and is very slightly alcoholic.

● 234 Production of cheeses. Although the cheese industry is in the foreground of the economic activity of the Čipaya, the technique used is one of the most rudimentary. The rennet is prepared with a piece of fetus tripe of a llama or vicuña which is soaked in water. It is enough to pour a little of this liquid into sheep's milk to turn it into cheese. The casein, after having been pressed between the
[439] hands, is put into small straw rings which are superimposed and separated each time by a fragment of palm-tree bark, a material which is used to wrap the small packs of coca which the Aymara sell to the Čipaya. When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is

/166 cont./ When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is firmly bound with a wool rope and left to drip for a certain number of days. These cheeses, white and tasteless, are seasoned with salt which the Čipaya get from the great salt deposits which spread out about 30 kilometers from their village. /167/ /Figure 3 appears here./

/168/ Weapons

The small number of weapons that the Čipaya have is a direct consequence of the insignificance of hunting in their economy. As for war, it is an unknown phenomenon for them. Who would dream of coming to pick a fight with them for possession of the sand dunes or stunted pastures? The only occasions for giving free rein to their bellicose instincts are the festivals. The alcohol they absorb then accentuates the underhand rivalry of the sayas among themselves, and, awakening passions, leads them to often bloody fights. I do not know if any weapons other than sticks and fists enter into play in this case.

The sling (kxorawa) (Fig. 4, A /see p. 157/), which is the weapon par excellence of the Indians of the altiplano, has only a peacable use in Chipaya: it is used to hurl lumps of earth at llamas or sheep to prevent them from straying from the flock or from the route being followed. It is possible that the Čipaya might have recourse to the sling when they have some quarrels with the people of the other saya, but I was never able to get particulars on this subject. Another circumstance contributes to making the sling of the Čipaya a harmless instrument: the lack of stones able to serve as projectiles.

The bolas of the Čipaya play a role close to that of the sling: they permit them to catch the sheep. The most common type is the ordinary bola. The stones instead of being caught in a leather sheath, as is the case with the archaeological specimens (Fig. 4, D-B), are furnished with a groove which prevents the rope from slipping (Fig. 4, J).

[Text continues on p. 156]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

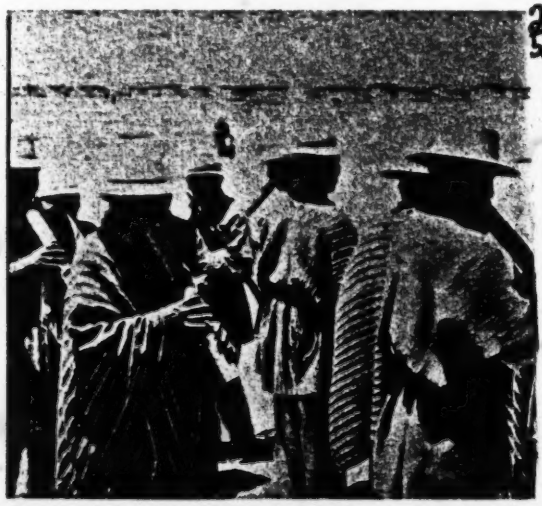
Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymaras haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called *tola*. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes



Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into *chuño* flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year to the various families by the head of each moiety.